/220 cont./

263 According to the description by the Cônego /canon/ André Fernandes de Souza (end of the eighteenth century), the process was similar to that for the preparation of the lye for the manufacture of the "ash soap." That is: the plant was reduced to ashes, which were left in a water infusion in order for the salt to dissolve, and the latter, afterwards, through evaporation, would be deposited in the form of whitish crystals (p. 467 of the "Notícias Geographicas /Geographical Notes/," ap. Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geogr. Brasileiro, Vol. 10 -- Rio de Janeiro, 1870).

f) Insects.

*192
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1) Termites and ants.

[881]

a) Mexkã (in Nheengatú maninuara, manivara) is the queen of a species of yellow termite, which comes out in abundance from the holes in the earth right after the rain. They eat them alive or roasted. It is the required food for the young men and women in the puberty rite.

b) "In times of scarcity the women explore the ground with sticks in the places where they know that a type of manivara without wings, called exkó, probably exists. They come out in large numbers and are eaten alive, or after being roasted in small bundles of sororoca leaves.

/221/ c) They likewise eat the tanajura /large, winged ant/, dyãrã (Uaupés dyãnã), and different species of ants, yamĩ-ka (night ant, because it comes out at night or early morning), dexpotyãra (uarabá), duhúsã (which come out in the afternoon), etc., when they come out of the ant nest. When they observe the clean openings and a great movement of ants, they prepare a platform at a height of half a meter above the ant nest. One can see an entire family posted on this platform, and as the tanajuras emerge from the ground, they are eaten raw, often also with the accompaniment of beijú or flour. When the emergence is very abundant, the tanajuras are collected in special baskets, in which they are later roasted.

/251 cont./.

1) His social role.

756
626 The paje represents the highest intellectual level of the native [illegible] and, not only that, but he is also the stickler for the observance of the tribal laws. He knows them, teaches them, and demands their fulfillment, being able to punish (34).

> 34. He is, then, the major opponent of the assimilation of our culture on the part of the forest dweller.

with sicknesses, lightning, and, finally, malefices, disrespect towards traditional practices.

756
[852]
[844] He presides over all social life, that of the family as well as of the group. When a child is born, the one who will blow on it, exorcise it, and paint it with carajurú /carajura/, in order that it will grow up strong and free from sicknesses, is the pajé; and he will also give the medicines to the woman in labor.

[553] In some tribes the giving of the name is done in the presence of the pajé. Covering the child with smoke with his indispensable cigar, under the inspiration of the moment, he will give or will suggest the name to the father, who is about to choose a name [illegible] by any circumstance whatsoever, perhaps even an indecent [illegible].

[881] When the girl reaches puberty, the pajé will spend some time with her, giving her timely theoretical and practical instructions about maternity and obligations inherent in it.

At the time of the masculine initiation, it falls to him to teach the young men the traditional legends, their rights and duties as members of the group, the ritual practices, and to verify their ability by means of interrogations, punishments, flagellations, fasts, etc.

He is also the principal instructor of the Koumi (see VII - 2, e [illegible]), on whose capacity he will pass judgment, and of whom he will always be the supervisor, gathering them together periodically in assembly and giving them opportune directions for every circumstance.

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/284 cont./

It is not only the pajé, however, who uses the cigar for its magic power and applies "blowings." They believe, moreover, that the smoke spread by some persons, particularly certain old men, have the same virtue as the smoke of the pajé, or almost. The same is said of the "blowings." This is the reason why in some circumstances (giving the name, VIII - 1, b (6) /see 1, b (4)/, puberty initiation, VIII - 1 b (7), etc.) these persons intervene, "blowing" smoke.

• [881]

We learned of episodes of individuals who bragged about the force of their own "blowing," capable of sending sicknesses and misfortunes, and they would terrify the others with this.

These "blowers" are called Komũá (plural Komũ), corresponding, it seems, to the ethnological concept of "initiate."

We have witnessed the long theoretical preparation, in the form of evening lectures, which the older Komũá gives to those who aspire to the same position. The old Komũ /sic/, squatting, or seated on a stool, having before him the aspirant, also squatting or seated, starts developing his program of instruction. When it seems /285/ proper to him, perhaps after one or two hours of explanation, he ends his lesson, saying farewell to his pupil with the salutation nĩka-nĩya (U. nĩka-nĩña), adios! (lit. you remain behind).

*[192]

Seated at a certain distance, in pleasant conversation among themselves, are other Komũ and the tuxáua. When the first one has finished his lesson on the histories, legends, beliefs, traditions, customs, origin of things and of sicknesses, etc., a second one will come to instruct the pupil, who patiently waits for the new lesson and shows his interest and improvement by carrying on a dialogue with the master, according to the native custom. And the lessons extend until late hours of the night, ended by a general farewell. Masters and students, during these hours of lectures, generously help themselves to ipadú (cf. VI - 4, I (3) /see 4, I (4)/).

One of the more expert Taryana natives, Vicente Joaquim Rodrigues, who had also taken the course to become a pajé, told us that the pajé has periodic meetings, once or twice a month, with the various Komũá. He forewarns them of sicknesses that

/234 cont./

192 302 386 824 4th. --. The paintings are done with the color:

a) black obtained from the leaves of a plant called dyá-wé, known as jenipapo /genipap/, or from the shrub called we'é. From the decoction of the leaves of the jenipapo left in the open air there is produced a dark lotion which they use to color the hair when it is getting white. From the husk of the pod of the ingá laterifólia, they extract, also by maceration, a black color used for the designs on the stools.

/235/ b) The color red from the Õnõñá or carajurú /carajura/ (51)

51. Carajurú (or crajurú, as Gonçalves Dias writes -- Relatório da Província do Amazonas, I, p. 766), also known as piranga or pariri, is a climber of the family of the Bignoniaceae (the Bignonia chica of Humboldt or arrabidaea chica of Verlot). From the dried leaves left in maceration for some days is deposited a red powder, insoluble in water, which is kept in calabashes and mixed with oil or hot resin when they want to paint. The painting with carajurú evidently has a magic character. Thus, it figures in the rite of the puberty initiation, and the pajé uses it to paint his own body and his objects when he is called to attend to some patient. They admit that, when "blown" by the pajé, the carajurú acquires an extraordinary prophylactic virtue; for this reason they use it to paint, with small circumferences, the face of the newly born children, and, afterwards, when a name is given to them and whenever there is sickness or fear of sickness.

[881] [755] [756] [852]

and from the Mõ'sã or urucú (52).

52. The urucú (the bixa orellana or arbórea, Hub., of the family of the Bixaceae) is used, says Koch G. (Z. I. 448), with saliva, oil, or plant's milk; it is not as resistant as the color from the carajurú and fades in the light.

/332 cont./

776 He is, said Cásimiro Sampaio, a mysterious being "who descends
*[192] from above. He is yellow and appears decorated with arara feathers. He speaks, sings, and dances the mĩrĩ (32).

32. Our informant, Cásimiro Sampaio, finished by saying that it is the dance of the Jurupari. Bisíu, then, is confused with the great Wãx-tĩ of the legends.

He makes a great deal of noise and eats people. The women cannot see him."

776 We learned from various other informants that Bisíu eats
881 women on the occasion of the first menses: "amõsé baásamĩ," that is: he eats the menstruum, as they express it. A Pirá-
756 tapuya widow, Maria José (in Parí-cachoeira, 1954) clarified
*[192] that "to eat" means that he fecundates the woman. It is for
[115] this reason that she must be shut up in the house, and she herself will call for the services of the pajé or Komũ for the so-called "rite of initiation" (cf. VIII - 1, b (7)). These personages, with their rites, have the power to ward off the danger for the maiden.

776 A girl of the Tukano tribe from the Papurí said that the
829 Maku women, who almost always live in the interior of the forest, many times become pregnant from coitus with Bisíu.

/333/ d) Nãxkã Wãx-tĩ (Wãx-tĩ of the forest) (33).

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*[192]

33. Nãxkã means mato /forest, wood, thicket/ in Tukano.

He is also from the forest, stated Casimiro Sampaio, -- tall in stature and ugly. He wears long hair, and butterfly wings on his face. He does not speak and does not do harm to anyone.

/335 cont./

823 legs (38).
532

38. One of these drawings is seen on a rock of the Cururú-cachoeira, river Tiquié, a little above Parí-cachoeira.

prodigious belly, enormous head, would look with dread and say in a low voice: Wãx-tĩ! As if these representations were a perpetuation, in granite, of the memory of the terrible and feared monster. We have never witnessed any of these demonstrations of fear. Sometimes we have approached such petroglyphs and summoned near /336/ some Indians, and they have always appeared indifferent to such drawings. Moreover, we have found similar figures on the bark walls of huts and malocas, and, moreover, we have seen children draw them on the ground with a stick, and, therefore, without any semblance of religiousness.

764 It can, then, be affirmed that there is no indication of an
782 individual cult. There is, nevertheless, a social cult to be dis-
881 cussed, which is realized in the maloca and its immediate surroundings. There are principally three manifestations of this social cult: the offering of the first fruits or dabacurís, the puberty-initiation, and the funeral. All three of which a spiritual communion, tightening the solidarity of the group.

782 1) Religious feasts with offering of the first fruits.
796

Their Poosé are religious feasts, in our opinion (39),

[192]

39. An opinion that we have expressed since 1947 and that recently (1954) we verified to be also that of Koch Grünberg, who (Z. I. 372, and passim) distinguishes, moreover, religious dances and profane dances. Koch, nevertheless, accepts the translation demônio /demon/ for Wãx-tĩ," and even for other personages of the native legends.

and were called by the first explorers, with a term from the Língua

/337 cont./

796 Such feasts are held five to six times a year: not at fixed
782 times, but corresponding to the ripening of the fruits, or to the time of the great fishing trips, depending on whether it is a matter of the sacrifice of fruits, mandioca, or of fish to the deity. Or
585 also on the occasion of marriage and initiation of the young people.
881 /338/ The following attests to the religious character of the feast:

[192] 1st. -- In first place, the very denomination of Wãx-tíye-baxsá, dance of Wãx-tí. The natives of Ipanuré-cachoeira told Koch G. that on certain days they heard a deep noise in the cachoeira, like that of the great sacred instrument, the Mírí. It is a sign, then, that the Wãx-tí of the cachoeira wants a feast held for him.

[123] 2nd. -- The affirmations (some clearer, others more veiled)
[124] of the natives, although they keep many things hidden, and in gen-
[115] eral the old people, who know more, are the most reserved. Asking the old Christian Tukano Júlio, tuxáua-bayá of Pari-cachoeira (that is, local chief and dance master), why they put those ornaments on the head, nape, arm, etc., he answered us at once: "The same as the Padre puts on the biretta and his vestments at the Mass, so we put on the acangatara /feather headdress/."

Manifesting to the same tuxaua the desire to attend a Poosé held by him, in order to film it, he answered immediately: "Such a dance is not for fun." This same tuxaua, after having made some revelations to us and having sung for us the songs of the Poosé, manifested to a Missionary scruples about having committed a mistake by doing so.

3rd. -- The seriousness with which they proceed. No distractions or frivolity, no laughter or conversation (45).

45. During one of these dances, somebody among the civilized spectators started to laugh. The tuxaua sent one of his men to warn that he should not laugh, just as he did not laugh during the functions of the whites. If he continued to do it,

/880 cont./

937 other tribes, with whom they live in the same maloca or povoado, promised us that the same happens among all the tribes of this region.

881 After the individuals of both sexes have gone through the pu-
836 berty initiation, -- be they married or single -- sexual relations with a large number of persons of the tribe and, under some conditions, also with those of other tribes, and with the civilized themselves, are permissible for them.

833 They conceive the sexual relations between the two sexes (99)

[838] [881]

> 99. Male or female homosexualism, it seems, has always been regarded as something reprovable and, for this reason, always practiced secretly. Officially, as far as is reported, it only exists in the puberty rite of the boys.

as a normal pleasure for the individuals who have reached legal majority by the puberty rite, and therefore such relations are practiced publicly, in front of their own parents or their own spouse (100).

> 100. It is understandable that the relations, although legally permissible, might not always be prudent and thus are not practiced publicly. Such is the case for the individual who, having fought with the husband, does not touch his wife in his presence. This comes from positive information obtained.

just as the various physiological acts of eating, drinking, or anything else are performed in front of any person (101).

[829]

> 101. Out of mixed feelings of distrust and hostility toward the civilized, or even because they know directly or indirectly that their morals condemn these liberties, they do not

/385 cont./

563 Because of the high concept that they have of the Branco /White/, without excluding the influence of their magic beliefs and because of the gifts that they can /386/ give them, the women easily give in to the desires of the civilized and are even proud of having children by them (113).

[115]

[611]

> 113. In Urubucuara and Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, two women told us, in conversation, with some pride, that they were not daughters of Indians, but of civilized. We observe here that for the purpose of social classification and of future marriage they were regarded as belonging to the tribe to which their mother belonged. For example, Antônia of Carurú-cachoeira, who died in 1956, daughter of a man from Pará and considered Tariana, later married a Wanana.

Unfortunately among the civilized who reach those regions there are adventurers without any moral concepts, without an established family (114)

> 114. Not infrequently their unions with Indian women are of some duration, that is, all the time that they remain among the Indians, perhaps in public service, or they are casual relations.

or with a regular family from whom they have been away for a long time.

881 933 [756] In the rite of puberty initiation, the maiden not only has theoretical instruction on her matrimonial duties, but also immediate practice with the pajé or Kõmũ and with another young man of her choice or of her own father's choice (according to tribe).

/386 cont./

881 All these prémarital relations (115)

833 [192]

115. Since 1947 we have known about this official and public character of the relations of the maidens with the pajé, the Komũ, the young man of her amõsé (VIII-1, b (7b)), and her fiancé, Mã-ra-põ nỹákhõ. And we have spoken of this since that time. Today we know that these legal licenses have a much greater extension.

take place in public and officially in the maloca or house, thus like the marital ones. They commonly happen between elements [628] of the same tribe, and in some cases also between different tribes.

The Makú maidens and women, while they are working for 567 the occupants of the maloca, find themselves in the legal position 831 of concubines of all of them. It is a kind of service that they 648 must render, without being able to refuse or receiving any pay for it.

When, as an exception, an Indian of another tribe served for 588 the amõsé of the maiden (we know of various cases in Urubucuara, 628 Pinú-pinú, Part-cachoeira), or some civilized person (we have 648 likewise been told of cases with Colombian and Brazilian indi- 833 viduals), the relations are permitted indefinitely with this one, 881 too, and not only on the part of the maiden. "He became one of the family" was the expression that we heard.

The affinity with the wife's tribe that the legal marriage 588 entails, moreover, makes sexual relations with the "relatives 835 /387/ of the woman" legal; relatives in the broad sense of the native expression, that is, covering all those of her povoado or "Gens."

436 cont./

868 It can be affirmed without fear that the parents are interested in the material education of the children. It is the father's ambition that his son will be a competent fisherman, boatman, or hunter (59).

[797] [829] 59. Today many parents are already interested in something more, and they bring their children to the Mission in order for them to be made "whites." A parent, bringing a girl of about eight years old to the school, recommended to the Directress that she "educate her, teach her Portuguese, in order that later she might be able to marry /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ a white." After he has spent some years in school, the child considers himself superior, and is regarded as such by the others. He has become "white."

For this reason he will not deny him his advice and his experience.

7) Puberty initiation.

884 By puberty initiation or "rite of passage" is understood the official entrance of the individual, who has reached puberty, into the social life of the tribe, coming to take responsibility for his actions. For this he will also receive the necessary instruction on the "customary law" of the group to which he belongs, the obligations and rights of the individuals. And also, only for the boys, the explanation of certain customs and the legends which constitute the historical and cultural patrimony of the group.

[562] [869]

Both those of the male sex and those of the female sex must be subjected to the "puberty initiation rite" (60).

[797] 60. The Missionaries, with patient and prudent action, have managed to alter the native customs, although slowly, with the adoption of Christian

/437 cont./

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[797]

/footnote 60 cont./ customs and the extirpation of those which are contrary to the morality of the Gospel, retaining only those that do not harm this morality. For example, many of the young men are boarding in the Mission schools at the time of the puberty initiation. There are few cases in which the young men at such a time of life fail to return to the school, in order to go through the "rite of initiation." And some affirm that the youth can marry even without having been subjected to such a rite.

after a theoretico-practical course. It is a matter of a religious
562 function, as if it were the consecration or sanctification of the
881 individual, who is integrated into the group of the worshipers of
wãx-tĩ.

*[192] a) Course of male initiation -- Mĩĩ-mẽra, a'mõ-yesé (61).

[115] 61. These data are based on descriptions made by natives of the Tukano, Wanana, Pirá-tapuya, Taryana, Tuyuka, Desana, Bará, Kumãdene, and Baré tribes. This last informant did it according to recollections of his initiation, more than thirty years before, in Tamandua. It is, however, a general custom of all the tribes of the region, of the Tukano group as well as of the Arwáke and of the Makú, as the natives themselves affirmed.

[171]

According to the number of inhabitants of a maloca, the young men, upon reaching puberty (62)

[115] 62. The Baré Plácido from Melo informed us that at his initiation there were 20 young men in all, and about ten persons, between pajés and Komũã, instructed them. It was, however,

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/footnote 62 cont./ tremendously boring. When one paje had finished talking, another one would come, repeating the same things, some already drunk. They would listen in fear, believing everything. He recalled /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ an old paje who knew many stories and told them, much to the delight of the children. In the smaller povoados there might be perhaps a single candidate for the initiation, as was the case for Felisberto from Urubucuara, and for the youth Graciliano Carvalho, Pira-tapuya from Tata-punha. The latter remained isolated for two months in a house, and the old men came there to give him the lessons and to tell him stories, which he would have to repeat on the following day.

(in practice whenever their voices start to change), are gathered together in groups, in a distant spot, for the initiation course, which is called Mïrïã-mëra a'mõ-yese, that is, "initiation rite with the sacred instruments or Mïrïã." In many cases huts are improvised in the interior of the forest for this.

/438/ The course, which lasts several weeks or even two and three months, according to the progress of the students, is directed by one or more pajés and Komïã simultaneously. There is an assemblage of painful tests (63)

63. It seems that there is opportunity for the inventive faculty in the application of the tests. In a Tiquié povoado we came across two young men who bore on each arm a wound around the wrist, as if it had been produced by handcuffs.

in order to verify the spirit of sacrifice and endurance of the youths. Deprived of clothes, they remain exposed to bad weather, they

/438 cont./

881 562 are flogged on the back with reeds four times by the Komũã, keeping their arms crossed on the chest, and they can not cry (64).

[183] 64. We were told of a young man who could not stand the blows and, feeling humiliated and scorned by those of the tribe, had to leave and place himself at the service of the whites in S. Gabriel.

Some child may hide in order to dry his tears, said an informant.

Handfuls of pepper are put in their mouths, and they are ordered to chew them. When there are several, they are arranged in a line, and with a stick they dig a hole, into which they are later going to spit. Not hitting the hole will be a reason for punishment. At dawn they take a bath in the river; upon returning, they drink a little Kaxpí. *[192]

They are obligated for the great fast, be'tisé, and their obligatory food is the larvae of the wasps.

562 369 881 They spend whole hours sitting on the ground, listening to the pajés narrating the traditions, telling the legends, teaching the obligations as members of the tribe, husbands, and fathers, giving advice, fixing the relations with the neighboring tribes. These instructions are intermingled with caxiri and with the apprenticeship in the fabrication of the baskets, fishing nets, and other tasks of the men.

[534] [778] While narrating the stories of the Mĩrĩã, they place one of the mysterious instruments beside each boy, so that he can observe it well (65).

*[192] 65. The instrument is an essential element for the male initiation. Besides the positive information obtained, it says the very name of the rite: "Na porá-ré mĩrĩ-mẽra a'mo-yẽrá," as the natives express themselves, that is, initiation of the sons with the mĩrĩã. This is also the opinion of Koch G. (Z. I. 220).

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/439/ cont.

It has not been reported that these Indians might have the instrument "berra-boi" (bull-roarer).

They must show proof of benefit from these instructions; otherwise they are beaten by the Komũã. This course, although short, is nevertheless intensive and exerts a great influence on the young men. /439/ Fear of the pajé grows in them (66),

> 66. One of the informants strongly insisted on this great fear of the pajé, because, although he does not beat them directly, he would order that the elders, the Komũã, do it.

they realize that they have ceased to be children, become serious, grave, showing a certain pride in their behavior, because now they are perfect citizens and able to form a family.

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The end of this course is the incest with their own mother, in the presence of the father and the pajé or Komũ, so testified natives of several tribes. This rite marks the start of the public sexual life, because up to this time they can only practice it secretly.

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[126]

b) Course of female initiation -- Mõ-yõãsé (67).

> 67. It has been reported that it is also practiced, and with special solemnity, among the Caboclo descendants of the Coiana Indians in the interior of the forest about three kilometers from S. Joaquim do Coane (mouth of the Uaupés). We heard the description that follows directly from persons who went through the rite, two of them immediately after the initiation, being able not only to photograph one of them with her hair cut off, but even, through the offer of a dress, obtaining the hair. Since the informants belonged to ten different tribes (Tukano, Pirã-tapuya, Taryana, Kumãdene, Karapanã, Tuyuka, Desana, Wanana,

[115]

/68/ cont.

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/footnote 67 cont./ Bará, and Makú) we were able to verify that the process is the same. Whatever was peculiar in one narration became harmonized in the whole, and perhaps had happened with all, although some might have forgotten to narrate that detail. Moreover, they assured us that in all the tribes the mõ-yõãse was performed in a similar way.

In a similar way the girl, "when she becomes a young woman," according to the native expression, that is, when she reaches the age of the menses (68)

*[192]
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[241]

68. They call it "sickness of the moon, Mũhĩ-pũ dux"ti." It is one more proof, among the many that we have had, of how the intimate life of each one is known perfectly by the entire community. The first menstruation takes place around 12 years of age, although the child, from her physical development, looks only about ten. For children of both sexes, it is not until some years after the age of puberty that their bodies fill out, that is, it is only after 14 or 15 years of age that the development of the body takes place, and in an almost perceptible way "they become young men and women." With the onset of menstruation, as in the critical age of the woman and puberty for the man, one does not notice abnormal physiological disturbances. Menstruation, like conception, comes regularly throughout the year. Ordinarily the monthly courses are not very abundant and do not last more than one day.

and the first menstruation, a mõsé, comes, must go through the puberty initiation rite.

438 cont.

562 Naturally one can not mark the date for this beforehand. It
• 881 is likewise understandable that it is practically impossible to perform this rite with an entire group, as in the male initiation, if we consider that they are small povoades or only a maloca.

[192] 440/ The first menstruation is a dangerous event for the young woman; she may be a victim of Bisíu (VII -- 4, d (5.c)), Bisíu a'mõsé-re baásamĩ, 'they say, that is, Bisíu eats the menstruation. As they explain, to eat means that he will come to fecundate her (69).

[177] [797]

69. A singular phenomenon of acculturation or adaptation has been taking place. A girl, for example, is in school at the time of the first menstruation. She will perform the rite perhaps many months later, when she returns to her povoado. She does not wait, according to information from the young women themselves, until the next menstruation comes to perform the rite. As for the rest, she follows exactly what the customs dictate.

(See Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/.) The maiden [756] then will be the first to announce the fact and to request the intervention of the paje or Komĩ (70).

70. One of the young informants asserted that the maiden will be happier if she does this rite with a stronger paje. Another added that she [829] will be still more so if it has been with a white.

Besides, the rite is desired by the girl, not only because it gives her freedom for the public sexual relations, but also because, according to her convictions, this rite is going to assure her happy deliveries, as various young women testified. For this reason no maiden would dare to marry without the puberty rite and the mũ-yoãsé (coitus of initiation). Some nubile maiden, especially

4: Silva--672 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/440 cont./
those educated in the schools, might perhaps say, out of shyness (71).

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71. The young Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos, an orphan raised in the Mission of Iauareté, and who, until she was 25 years of age (1956), spent the greater part of her life in the schools of the Salesian Missions, has always denied having submitted to the puberty rite. Although in a conversation on March 3, 1956, apart from any subject, she came out with the statement: "Now the rite of initiation is not done any longer," on many occasions she has affirmed that the natives all, even people of confession and communion, continue to do all these ancient practices, even the alumni and alumnae of the Mission." In September of 1955 in Taracuá, apropos of the puberty initiation rite, she said literally: -- "Even the Christians do this." Around the fourth or fifth of March of 1956, she related an episode that had happened to her the last time she had been with her relatives in S. Luzia, from September of 1955 to February of 1956, an episode which documents how even from the Christian natives one only slowly manages to eradicate the primitive beliefs. One day she felt somewhat ill (the common discomforts of women). Her uncle Marco, who, although Christian, continues, as pajé, to practice the "blowing" and the other Xamã /shaman/ rites, asked her whether she had already performed the puberty rite. Answering that she had not as yet, her uncle went on: "That is it, my daughter (sic), that is because you have not undergone the rite. Shall we do it now?" She did not accept (she told us). Then the uncle gave her the explanation about the discomfort and about the usefulness of the puberty rite, which we transcribe.

/440 cont./

562 that she has not performed the rite. Nevertheless, she herself
881 will affirm, in agreement with the others, that a woman can not marry without having submitted to these practices.

[115] Patrícia Vasconcelos gave the following explanation of the necessity for the rite, according to the instruction obtained from
[192] her uncle Marco from S. Luzia, river Papuri. /441/ "The maiden has the nihĩ-koró (vagina?) inverted, and for this reason the child cannot come out. /The final quotation marks are missing./ The
[192] pajé or kõ-mĩ is going to put it "in the proper position" by means of the rite and the coitus. The rite, besides this, makes "the nihĩ-sũ'ti-ro, uterus, not grow very much, because in this case she would have two children at a time and this is a disgrace for the woman."

This rite is essentially equivalent to the "religious defloration" that other human groups practice. However, due to the previous liberties, although without an official character (rather they must be hidden), which take place even between children and adults, the girl, upon reaching menstruation, already has the hymen ruptured. This, then, is of no importance in the rite. An official coitus, mõ-yoãsé, however, takes place on the first day (and in some povoados also on the following days) with a young man chosen by the girl or by her father (72),

> 72. The choice of the young man is made by the girl herself in some places, and in others, povoados and malocas, by her father. A young Tukano from Pari-cachoeira declared that she did not like the young man whom her father had chosen. It seems that where there are more Komũã the choice of the executor of the rite is always by the father of the maiden. If the father is Komũã, he himself will execute the rite with his daughter. We do not know whether this is also an obligation of his. From a Komũã of Juquira, river Uaupés, we found out that he personally did it with his three daughters, as one of them informed

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/footnote 72 cont./ us. The services of the pajé or Komũ are always remunerated, as well as those of the mõ-paxkoá; not, however, those of the young man. He is not the future husband, who must belong to another tribe, and the young man of the a"mõsé regularly is of the same tribe as the maiden. A young Makú added that the young man was her obligatory partner at dances, as we were later able to verify.

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and, on the last day of the rite, with the Komũ or pajé (73).

73. It is to be noted that, according to the descriptions that we obtained, the first coitus is not with the pajé or Komũ, as one might expect, but with the young man.

The concept that the one chosen should be the hero of the group, recognized after a fight with others, as is done among some tribes, has declined. Among the Uaupesinos there is no test to determine the choice; there is only one quality in favor of the chosen one, his youth. Some maidens affirmed that he was a "strong young man." On the rivers visited by the civilized, the latter may be chosen for such a function, and they have done it. For such a choice, we think that not only does the native's instinct of self-interest enter in, but also the white is supposed to have a special nature (74).

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74. Many times and under different circumstances the native has manifested the opinion that the civilized person is endowed with a nature different from that of the Indian. This was the answer that the tuxaua from Pari-cachoeira, Julio, gave to Pe. João Marchesi, who assured him that he should not fear the

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/footnote 74 cont./ Dohasé (malefice), just as the Missionary did not fear it. "The white is of a different nature," he answered, "for this reason he does not catch our dohasé."

a connection with which might bring benefits for the girl. This opinion was expressed by several young women.

/442/ The girl must then be separated from the inhabitants of the maloca. The maidens do not know (and this seems to us the most probable hypothesis) or did not want to give the reason for this segregation. It is that in these circumstances she is considered dangerous (75).

75. It is to be pointed out that she is dangerous not only during the days of the menstruation, but until the rite has been completed. As a matter of fact, the seclusion might take place outside the menstrual period and might last for an entire moon. It seems that only the first three monthly courses are considered dangerous and thus subject to a special rite. If one is to believe the information, during the subsequent menstruations the woman is not obliged to abstain from sexual relations, as the Jews observed.

for the others, once she has been sought by Bisíu.

*[192] In the regime of the maloca, an enclosure for the young woman, called a'mõ tuxkũ, is made inside of it. In the regime of the povoado, she might perhaps be isolated inside a hut (76).

76. In October of 1947 a young Makú from Iauareté retreated to the hut of the pajé himself for the initiation.

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881 562 During this time, which runs from three days to four weeks, according to the tribe, the young girl will always be shut in, she cannot take a bath, she will go out only when necessary and quickly, trying not to meet anyone.

562 881 302 608 There, while the girl is kept seated on a stool, her hair will be cut by a woman who is called mõ-paxkoá, that is, godmother-of initiation (77).

77. This godmother will call the girl Yõ-se:ko, my hair-cut; and the maiden will call her Yõõ-ré se:ko, the one who cut me (my hair).

"It is in order to exchange for new hair" was the only explanation. According to information obtained by Koch G. (Z. I. 357), the girl's hair was used for making the masks of Wãx-tĩ. Thus one more element of connection between the puberty rite and the cult of Wãx-tĩ appears.

*[192] The face and especially the body are liberally painted with black dyá-wé dye by another woman, who is likewise considered Paxkoá. Both of the godmothers will receive some gift from the girl and also have a right to her services. The body painting is done as usual, by means of the molongó cylinder (VII-3, b(2)).

For the haircut they used the sharp teeth of the piranha (Serrasalmo of different species) and other animals. For this reason, wrote Stradelli, the tribes of the Rio Negro, who spoke Nheengatú, when the use of scissors was introduced, called them Piranha. The artifact for the cutting of the hair among the Tukano is called Dõxpóse:ró.

*[192] The Mõ-paxkoá or the mother herself in some tribes pours water with pepper through her nose, using a funnel of the leaf of /443/ õhoá pũrĩ or yõxsõ-pũri, "in order to become illuminated" (78).

78. "To have the face or skin become illuminated" is an expression that we have heard frequently among the young female informants. It seems

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/footnote 78 cont./ to mean a healthy coloring of the face, and in some cases it seems to us to have the meaning of "illuminátio vultus" /vultus, "look, appearance"/ of the Jews.

the fat to go from the face, and to remain always young."

When the cutting of the hair and the painting of the face have been done, no person may enter the place of seclusion except the pajé or Ko-mũ, the young man, and the girl's mother (and, lacking the latter, the grandmother or woman on whom the young woman depends), and the Mõ-paxkoá herself. She will fast a great deal: the only foods permitted are beijú, small fish (jacundá, piráminim), ant, mexkã (manivara /termite queen/), and sirákaro (beiju of tapioca). She uses the manivara (explained Patricia Vasconcelos) "because it does not have fat and the pajé has broken its stinger."

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She will, moreover, be subjected to painful tests: she will spend long hours seated on the floor and all of the last night in vigil. The pajé or the Ko-mũ, bending over the fire, covers her with a strainer, and he will "blow" over her, while she remains seated, with her head bowed upon her crossed arms.

During this ceremony he brings her a cura with pepper and gives it to her to smell, "in order for the face to remain always smooth," that is, not to be left early with a wrinkled face. Simultaneously he instructs her concerning the duties of a wife and mother.

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Some of these instructions by the pajé, as the informants related to us, are: "to have good behavior toward her own mother -- to work hard -- not to do as the others do (?) -- when young to work harder -- to be kind toward the elders, to stay away from the piraboto /boato/ -- to avoid the great snake because it swallows (that is, fecundates) the woman -- she must prepare food for the man -- work in the clearing -- not to get much sun, because otherwise she will quickly grow old -- to

A: Silva--675 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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381 wife rapidly -- to return home at once" (78).
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78. These recommendations against the pirabote, the great snake, and the peculiar interdiction against eating paraíba fish are indications of a penetration of the Tupi legends in the Uaupesina civilization. As proof and for a better understanding of these recommendations, some legends should be recalled, especially those of Tinéuam and those of the Jurupari of the Baré versions, the Taryana of Izi ("Lendas do Uáupés" of the author).

[756] Nevertheless, he will not tell her anything about the origin
[869] of the tribe. After having blown over her with the smoke of his
[833] cigar, pronouncing at the same time a long and unintelligible exorcism, the copulation takes place (80).

80. Among the Tukano, according to what the paje Marco of S. Luzia, river Papuri, revealed, the purpose of the copulation is to place in position the wahí-korõ, which is inverted. But primarily, in similar rites, it has the symbolism of a union of forces and properties preserving the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ evils that the rite is aimed at conjuring away. Perhaps because of that, both the pajé, or Komũ, and the young man practice copulation on this occasion not only with the girl, but also with her mother and her paxkoá, as the several informants of the Uaupés stated.

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The rite ends with a bath of the dawn, Wawa-'kāsé, which makes us think of the bath of the dawn of the men at the feast of wīx-tf (VII-4, e (2 b); cf. Legend of the seizure of the inīrīā instruments). A procession of these women who have been associated with the rite, perhaps also other close relatives of the maiden, is organized. In front goes the paje, smoking the path with a piece of cooking pot, Ki-pu-tõ koro, with hot coals, pitch /Port. breu, a kind of resin/, and pepper, and he will exorcise the river, throwing in it the contents of the pot, in order to "chase away the beast that is in the river" (81).

> 81. They explained that this beast was the piraboto /bouto/. Now such a mammal does not exist in the upper Uaupés, much less in the small igarapés. We are thus confronted with a transplanting of beliefs and legends.

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The mother pushes the daughter into the water, and everyone will take a bath (82).

> 82. Wallace (o. c.) further brings in here a detail which was not confirmed to us: It is the following: "When this time has passed (one month), the relatives and friends of the parents, who are invited for this, gather there on the designated day, each one of them bringing a piece of cipo (flexible climber). The girl is then taken outside the house, completely naked, to the center of the group, which is in the yard in front of the dwelling. Each one of those present on this occasion is obliged to give her five or six strong lashes with the cipo on the chest and on the back, crosswise, until she falls prostrate, unconscious, this sometimes resulting in her death; if,

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/footnote 82 cont./ however, she recovers her spirits, the operation is further repeated some four or five times with an interval of six hours. It is considered a great offense to the parents if the blows are not given with much force. During this test, all kinds of meats and fish are prepared in huge pots. Following that, those present dip into these the cipos, which immediately afterwards are given to the girl to lick. From then on she will be able to eat everything she wishes. And from this moment on she is considered a woman. She is thus ready for marriage" (o. c. 634).

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There perhaps is confusion with what happens among the tribes of the Içana and among the Kubewana of the upper Uaupés on the occasion of the dabacuris. According to what the Kubewana

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of the Ambaíba maloca, mouth of the Querari, told us, when the father of a youth decides to look for a wife for his son, he takes advantage of the dabacuri and applies to the chosen girl three lashes with the adabi (VII-4, e (2b)). If she stoutly endures the blows, it is an indication that she is already mature for dealing with the responsibilities of a home.

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In some Arwake tribes a caxiri is held later; it is the feast called Karyamã (83).

83. Karyamã is the name of the type of beijú prescribed for this circumstance.

which may last as long as four days (it seems that it is the same number of days as the seclusion of the girl). Then she will dance with everyone, including the paje, and will smoke with them on the cigar made of banana leaves and tobacco. It seems that on

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562 /144 cont./
881 this /145/ occasion there are games and entertainments among the
527 young individuals of the maloca (84).
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84. One of the informants spoke to us about the "game of the lemon" for this circumstance. We heard about a Maku girl, Teresa by name, who on this occasion ran away with the youth, with whom she spent a few days. It seems that this is a matter of a conventional flight, because in reality they withdrew to a hut about 20 or 30 meters from the maloca.

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881 Abstention from work for some days is verified; for example,
784 she will not light the fire, "in order not to be burned." Then the young woman resumes her normal life: she will work in the clearing and in the house with her mother. For another month, according to information by Doroteia Brito, she may not taste salt or eat either beiju or the flesh of large animals, "in order not to ruin
[115] the teeth" (85).

85. Concerning a young Barú, sister-in-law of a Karapanã, in whose maloca, on the headwaters of the Apaporis, she submitted to the puberty rite, we were able to observe that she did in fact subject herself to a severe alimental diet, not accepting our salted foods, nourishing herself with beiju, tapioca, and fruits. We saw her, however, approach the fire, stir it up, and put some green bananas on to roast for herself.

881 During the following menstruation the rite of the seclusion of
562 the young woman is renewed. This second stage of the puberty
[192] initiation is called Mahĩ-mĩ-nõsé. It is identical to the first one,

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without the cutting of the hair, however. At the following menstruation, Maheka-nise, the practices of the puberty initiation are done again. This time, however, there is no segregation of the young woman, and all the acts take place with more solemnity, in view of everybody.

c) Nomenclature of kinship and of affinity.

1) Kinship.

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Among the tribes of the Uaupes it is generation /Port. geração, generation, procreation, descent/ that establishes true kinship. They recognize it not only between ancestors (nõx-kãkõra, grandparents) and descendants (marĩ-bero-maxsã), but also in the collateral line. And kinship imposes two very grave obligations, that is, that of defense (vengeance) and that of matrimonial interdiction.

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The components of the same tribe, although born and living in different malocas or povoados, are considered axkawerẽra (86).

86. The term axkawerẽra is beginning to be extended also to the individuals of another tribe connected by ties of affinity and of blood.

A term translated by those who speak Portuguese by "parentes" (relatives) and sometimes also by "irmãos" /brothers/. For this reason we accept the opinion (VIII-C, 1) that initially the local group coincided with the family.

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Those of another tribe, even those connected by some degree of affinity, or consanguinity, and also the civilized are all axpẽra (87).

87. Axpẽra, properly speaking, is the plural of the pronoun and adjective axpĩ (masculine) and axpẽgo, feminine, other.

that is strangers, foreigners.

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562 868 The girl must get used to work and, with the mother's training, will learn the several skills that someday will make her a good mother of a family. The boys will run loose in the forest, looking for fruits, will wander along the rivers, entertained by swimming or fishing, practicing at shooting arrows at fish or birds, and thus they will become able to provide the subsistence of the /4-4/ family. In the ajuris, in the traditional tasks, they will acquire beside the father that skill which will make them great oarsmen or expert basketmakers.

• 881 Children of both sexes start being conscious of themselves as members of the tribe, of which they will learn to be proud. They will eagerly desire to become a member integrated into its life and traditions, that is, they dream of the "initiation."

581 Once the instincts are developed, they understand that it falls to them to perpetuate the existence of the group, and they aspire to marriage. The national customs indicate to them the means of realizing it; for that step they will not lack the intervention and help of the father.

593 He has naturally experienced up to now the love and the attention of his parents and the camaraderie of his contemporaries. Now he is joined to a companion for his entire life. Unknown perhaps and a foreigner, but their cares, their spirit of work, their long life together, vicissitudes, shared joys and sadness, everything ends by making uniform the spirits of the spouses, connected especially by the bond of love for their children in common. Under more difficult conditions, because she is forced to leave the paternal home and go to another nation as a wife, the woman will still feel very actively connected to her tribe of origin, as well as to the new maloca in which she is a wife and mother.

621 With the years the ties that join the Indian to the group in which he was born, which educated him, which gave him assistance and support, for which he has also worked cheerfully on the collective enterprises, are strengthened. The group that provided him with frequent joys with its traditional feasts and, with its mysterious legends, gave satisfaction to his intimate aspirations toward something that he does not understand, but feels will exist beyond the grave.

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be a child's ceremony, for it is the acting out of a mythical incident that has great appeal to the children. The children explained the game, or ceremony, to me as follows. Some children were left orphaned by the death of their father and they lived alone with their mother, who had very little food to give them. When they asked their mother for food one day and she replied that she had nothing for them they ran out of the house. Immediately a great hole formed in the center of the house. The children sat outside on the branch of a tree and sang *hmm hmm hmm*. The next morning the children returned to the house and again asked for food. Now the mother gave them some stale cassava crumbs. They ate and returned to their tree branch. Now they began to grow feathers, and after four days they had become *taintúru* birds. They returned to the house and lived in the newly formed hole while the eldest brother flew off each day to fetch food for them. It is he who is captured by the *abúhuwa* but manages to escape so that he can return and look after his younger brothers and sisters. The *abúhuwa* customarily attack and seize children who are neglected or have been abandoned by their parents. They are dangerous, but they are also slow-witted and so can be eluded. Adults, it should be said, pay no attention to this or any other kind of children's game.

There is another game in which a little girl constructs a bower of palm leaves around herself and waits to be flushed out by a boy hunter. As for toys, the boys spin tops of fruits, they make cat's cradles, they walk on stilts, and they make a plaited snake that catches a finger and tightens when stretched. Among the *Hehénewa* Koch-Grunberg observed a ball game played with corn-husk balls (1909, II, 226 ff.). This game, played by older men, I did not observe among the *Bahúkiwa*.

PUBERTY

The Cubeo do not recognize an abrupt transition from childhood to adulthood in the case of boys. Male maturity is an individual matter to them, although past the age of 15 a boy will almost surely be drawn out of the pack into the adult world. Boys, however, are subject to growth magic from the time they enter the play pack until they leave it. An account of these rites is reserved for a later chapter. The ordeal of the stinging ants, a feature of puberty rites elsewhere in the region, occurs among the Cubeo during one of these rites.

Girls undergo digital defloration at the age of eight, I was told. An old man of the sib who is no longer virile is charged with this

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task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have difficulties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; officially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus, a prepubescent girl is referred to as *paunue bebiko* (one who has not yet copulated with the moon).

The pubescent girl (*pupuni*: one who is blown)[1] is said to be secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete, through a secret doorway in the side wall of the maloca so that she will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and painfully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me see how much pain you can stand."

At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

When a *Baluukwa* girl came of age during my stay among them she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party. Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father Cracone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tucano the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to her mother's household.

[1] She is also known as *nominyaro* (becoming a woman).

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the Ancients. In the naming and in the mourning ceremonies specific ancestors are invoked by name and by specific kinship reference, as the mother of the grandmother of the sib. In the case of postcoital cannibal bathing the ancestors are not invoked either by name or by spell, the brothers merely participate in their magical presence in the river. Some cult activities are secret, others are not. The rule of secrecy applies to the flutes and trumpets. These bear the names of ancestors and may not be seen by women. However, wherever these instruments appear, a specific ceremonial role is assigned to the women. In the whipping rites, which are also initiation rites for boys, the women receive gifts of fruits and participate in the name of the Ancients. In the mourning rites the ancestor trumpets sound their notes of grief, to which the women respond with wailing in their own. That is, when the Ancients enter the malocca they naturally establish a relationship with the women of the house. On the other hand, when the Ancients' blessings are invoked, but without the ancestral presence, the women have no part in the proceedings. The women are ignored during the shaman ceremony and during the recitation of the sib mythology. Basically, the ancestral cult belongs to the men. When the boys are shown the hiding place of the flutes and trumpets and are taught their names they are being initiated into a male cult and are drawn fully, thereby, into their roles as sibmen. The social function of the initiation is twofold: to complete the separation of the boy from his mother and align him with his father and his father's brothers, and to draw him from the dominantity of the play pack into the mature company of men. We may speak of these rites, therefore, as *rites de passage* as well, bearing in mind, however, that the passage is a long and gradual one. The Cuben emphasis with respect to the development of the male is not that he suddenly crosses a dividing line from boyhood to manhood but that he grows. The magic of the initiation ceremony is a magic of growth. Growth magic, it will be recalled, occurs at three stages in a boy's development: at birth, after a year when he receives his name, and then for a series of years after he has entered the play pack.

For a fuller understanding of the Cuben cult of *Ilekupeuma* one would need to know more about corresponding ceremonies among neighboring tribes. Curiously, no other ancestral cult has been reported for the entire Northwest Amazon. Koch-Grunberg, whose knowledge of the tribes of the region extended over many years, did not mention any ancestral doctrines even though he had lived for several months with the *Hehéneewa* on the Cuduiari. But like others who have studied this region his investigations were surely led astray

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769 171 (114) by that ubiquitous and meaningless term *yurupari*, Lingua Franca and Tupian for "devil," "spirits," "sacred," "mystery," and the like.[2] The Indians have learned to satisfy all foreign curiosity about their sacred practices by uttering the impressive word *yurupari*. All rites involving the use of the sacred and taboo-to-women trumpets and flutes, 769 534 171 have been invariably described in the literature as *yurupari*. We cannot assume, however, that because these instruments are ancestral embodiments among the Cubeo that they are so among all other tribes who use them. One of the striking characteristics of the entire Amazon drainage is the ready way in which form and content separate and recombine in new ways. It has been reported that among the Arawakan tribes in the region the flutes and trumpets represent the spirit of *Kuwai* (*Kuwai*), the tribal culture hero (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, I, 187). On the Orinoco, von Humboldt (1852, II, 363) found a cult of sacred trumpets associated with the fertility of fruits and berries. The plant fertility aspect of the instruments is well-nigh universal in the region, suggesting that this may have been the oldest association. Among the Cubeo, too, the whipping ceremonies are (241) quite explicitly associated with the harvest of fruits and berries during the short summer season. Among the neighboring Tucano Indians, where sacred flutes are used in the initiation of young boys, (881) (184) the instruments all have animal names, such as armadillo, paca, and agouti, as well as a little bird. They are reported to be known as named animals, but there is no reference in this report to an ancestral (552) cult (Pinanga Monteiro, 1960).

769 171 As for the Cubeo ancestral features, it may be reasonable to suppose we are dealing with an Andean culture trait that has diffused eastward into the rain forest. Ancestors are prominent in the religions of the Chibchan-speaking Cagaba (Park, 1936), in northern Colombia, and, southwest of the Cubeo, among the Witoto Indians (Preuss, 1921-23; Whiffen, 1915; Steward, 1948), with whom the Cubeo show remarkably close affiliation. Among the Cubeo, we may 769 speculate, a fusion has occurred between an early ancestral cult and 534 a series of other culture elements such as harvest festivals, cultic 174 whipping, male puberty rites, and a secret men's cult in which spirits (taboo to women) are represented by musical instruments. As will be seen in a later chapter, a similar fusion seems to have occurred among 534 elements making up the complex mourning ceremonies.

Among the *Bahukiwa* there are five pairs of musical instruments

[2] Actually Koch Grunberg (1915-16) does give a native term for "*yurupari* dance" (*bekwonkelehapuire*, which has the meaning of "festival of the Ancients"), but he apparently attached no significance to the term.